/35 cont'd/

539 and ninth lines; the word shu ("tree") a miswriting of shu ("uncle") in the eighth line; shu ("tree") a miswriting of shu ("common people") in the twenty-fifth line, etc. In order to make sense, I have tried to translate the song partly in accord with the sound instead of the meaning of the actual characters. —Tr./

622 In this song they describe the shan-chia as the sun and themselves as the stars. As the stars are under the protection of the sun, so they are under the protection of the shan-chia (this is what line 12 means). They ask the shan-chia whether the next year will be an intercalary year (line 18). In which direction does prosperity lie? (line 20). Where is the best land to plant? (line 22). Will they have to move or not during the coming year? And if they have to move, please tell all to get the horses ready for the journey (lines 28 and 30). Fishing, hunting, and cultivation in the next year are all subjects included in their questions (lines 32 and 34). From this song we can see how important and complex the shan-chia's duties are.

/36/ (Figure of drum appears here.)

622 There is a large drum hanging in every shan-chia's home.
534 Whenever there are matters to discuss, the shan-chia will summon
202 a public meeting by beating the drum. During our field trip in a Miao village, one morning just before dawn we heard the beating of the drum and found that the shan-chia had summoned the villagers to discuss a chung-jen chai /public ceremony of worship/. The villagers indeed came in groups at the sound of the drum. Moreover, we observed with our own eyes that a shan-chia was entrusted with the responsibility of selecting a propitious day for a wedding.

476 Every village has its common land, common pasture, and
● [2] common cemetery. Among the villagers a very close association

/36 cont'd/

476 is always maintained, and mutual assistance is their duty. Some important aspects of this are as follows:

/37/ (a) Mutual assistance in economic life. For instance, if a family in the village has a wedding ceremony or funeral service, the other families usually contribute money and rice to help reduce the burden.

(b) Mutual assistance in labor. If a family in the village needs help for heavy work, the head of the family usually calls on his [43] 276 neighbor for assistance with a little tobacco as a gift. If the neighbor accepts the gift, this indicates that he is willing to offer his assistance. The head of the family usually entertains the neighbor with food and wine after the work is done.

(c) Mutual aid in matters of morale. They usually congratulate one another on festive occasions and comfort one another in grief.

[428] Among the Miao there is no larger unit of social organization than the village. However, between villages there is frequent intercourse and all kinds of mutual assistance. (Owing to their environmental circumstances, the Miao tend to be cooperative and united. For details, see Chapter IX.)

631 Since the pao-chia system was established in the Miao area, intervillage relations have been greatly changed. The basic unit is a pao, which is a subdivision of a chia. A chia is a subdivision of a t'uan. A Miao village is either under the administration of a chia or a pao. Relationships between the pao and the chia, the chia and the t'uan apparently have become extensive and complicated.

A detailed description of the pao-chia system in the Li-Miao area appears in my previous study, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island.

421 4. The Land System and the Distribution of Wealth

The Miao own very little property. The mountains on which 427 they live are either bought or rented from the Li or from Chinese merchants (the Chinese merchants having purchased them earlier from the Li). The funds to purchase or rent the land are collected from each family in a village, each family contributing an equal

/39 cont'd/

423 675 "Again: The lands of Mt. Mao-jui have been purchased in the second year of Hsüan-t'ung /1909/ from P'an Chao and Li Yüng-sheng, who hereby jointly sell the land to Lao Pan at the agreed price of 80 large silver dollars."

"Again: In the second year of the Republic /1913/, Chang Ming-yao has raised /the price?/ 12 dollars."

"Again: Chin chia-ch'ang has purchased the lands of Mt. Mao-jui. Chang Ming-yao sells the aforesaid land to Chin Chia-ch'ang. The agreed price is 200 large silver dollars. This certificate of purchase is signed and executed in the fourteenth year of the Republic /1925/. /40/ The undersigned Chang Ming-yao, Huang Hsing-li, Ch'en Ch'en-chou, and Li Hsi-ch'ing together with the Li people purchase Mt. Mao-jui which is to be transferred to Lao Teng and Lao Chin for cultivation. The agreed price is 350 silver dollars. Sixteenth day of the second month of the twenty-second year of the Republic /1933/."

"Mt. Nan-shih-lung has been purchased at the agreed price of 576 large silver dollars, on the seventh day of the second month of the first year of the Republic /1912/."

"The sellers of Mt. Nan-shih, Wang Kai-lung and Wang Kai-ch'un sell the said land to Teng Chia-ch'ang at the agreed price of 130 large silver dollars. Tenth day of the third month of the eighteenth year of the Republic /1929/."

421 423 621 The above are contracts for the purchase of mountains. Since these mountains are based or purchased through funds contributed by each family of the whole village, they are, of course, community property. Each family of the village has an equal right in the use of the land. In other words, people of the

/40 cont'd/

421 mountain have the right to cultivate freely on any one piece of land
423 on the mountain without interference from any one else. On the
621 other hand, people of neighboring mountains are not allowed to cross the border line. Their method of distributing the land is as follows: If a family wants a piece of land to cultivate, it may select an area, the boundaries of which are marked off on the branches of trees. /41/ The land so marked then temporarily belongs to it. Thereafter if someone sees these marks, he knows that the land is already occupied and he must look for land elsewhere. But after this family has harvested its crops, the land reverts to public ownership.

421 Whereas the aforesaid system of community ownership of land
423 is actually the case among the Miao, the system of private ownership of land also exists. Since the family is the basic unit of Miao social organization, the property accumulated by different families varies. In addition to the communal lands, the wealthy families
554 also have private lands leased or purchased from the Li or from
421 Chinese merchants. Some of them have even bought a number of irrigable rice paddies. They are, of course, better off than the average Miao. For example, the family of Lu Tsun-ying, the chia-ch'ang of Ang-chi village in Ta-ch'i, owned both mountain land and level fields. They also hired several workers to cut lumber in the mountains from which he gained considerable income. However, in actuality there are only a very few such wealthy people among the Miao.

421 With the exception of communal land, all other property is privately owned by different families, and is never confused with communal property.

421 In short, while the system of private ownership of property
556 exists in Miao society, there are only very limited opportunities for accumulating property, and individuals are not able to create a greater measure of wealth. Moreover, the greater part of production
554 comes from the land which is still under communal ownership, and consequently the distinction between the rich and the poor is not very marked among the Miao. It follows that even the initial stage

4;Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

I found them friendly and hospitable, but without a sense of relative values. The family with whom I lived would accept no money for the rooms, all the rice I could eat, and all the firewood I needed for heating and cooking. In addition, now and then they brought me vegetables from their own gardens, included me in their feasts, and gave me a bit of something special at other times. But, once I began to knit caps for them and give them medicines, prints of individual snapshots, and a treat for the children upon my return from market, they expected me to continue all those things for themselves and all their relatives, even when the war made communications difficult and prices, accordingly, increasingly high.

They were less conventional than the Chinese, though that does not mean that they lacked social standards. For instance, children were repeatedly rebuked when they went between the fire and those who were sitting around it. At feasts it was considered inhospitable should the host or hostess allow a guest's wine bowl to become empty. No guest ever left the village emptyhanded. Men and women, girls and boys mingled freely, for they considered themselves one large family. There was much goodnatured teasing and repartee. Children, however, often gave way to tantrums and some rather heated arguments took place among adults on occasion. One morning some of the older men of the village were discussing something with the old man of our family. Not only did the talking get loud and sarcastic in tone, but some one of them broke a bowl by throwing it onto the stones of the court outside his room. But on the whole the Miao village was a very pleasant place in which to live.

Language. Dr. Li Fang-kuei [14] told me that he considers the Miao dialects a distinct language group, belonging to the Sinitic family of languages. They have no written language. My informant, however, declared that the Cowrie Shell Miao speak the ancient Chinse dialect spoken in Kiangsi at the time their ancestor migrated. There are either seven or nine tones — authorities differ as to

[14] At that time acting director of the Section on Philology of the Institute of History and Philology of the Academia Sinica.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

769 Filial piety is the cardinal virtue and one of the main duties of a child is to commemorate and make offerings to his departed ancestors. All the memorial festivals but one are for this purpose and in all the seasonal festivals or those that come on regular dates throughout the year, offerings are made to the ancestors and they are commemorated in the usual way.

421 All property, such as tools, weapons, furniture, domestic animals, money, houses and fields, belongs to the family and after the death of the parents, when the family is broken up, it is divided among the sons of the deceased. Such things as clothing and personal ornaments belong to individuals.

671 Among the Ch'uan Miao there are no written laws. The customs and habits of the group are the laws and what is customary is right. Crimes are infractions against the customs or mores of the group.

619 622 There is no tribal organization. That is, there is no political organization that extends throughout the entire ethnic group. A locality may elect a headman, called a gy lAu or old club, and the headmen of several different districts may cooperate for the general good, but the headmen are not bound together by an organization affecting the entire Ch'uan Miao region. If the Ch'uan Miao are a tribe, it is because they are physically related and have a common language, common customs, common ideals, and a common culture. These bind the people together more securely than could any political organization.

627 Minor offences may be settled between the two persons concerned. When this cannot be accomplished, the families of the two persons endeavor to solve the difficulty. In more weighty and difficult matters, the local headmen or a number of the older people of the district are called in. It is said that only one or two per cent of the worst cases are taken to the Chinese courts. The reasons are not far to seek. Litigation in Chinese courts is expensive and a Miao, since he is a member of a different race, is likely to be discriminated against. In addition he is at a disadvantage because he cannot read Chinese characters.

681 An offence or a grievance may be settled or recompensed for by the gift of a chicken, a duck, a pig, a goat or sheep, a cow, or some other object. Sometimes a beating is administered and sometimes the death penalty is exacted. It may be carried out by throwing the guilty party over a cliff or down a natural pit into the earth.